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The Horner Boys Club in Chicago reaches out into the community and helps channel gang members into a club situation with constructive forms of activity. In Los Angeles, a deputy Probation officer organized a service called Group Guidance in which probation officers work with the hard-core city gangs that are not handled by conventional youth-serving agencies.

Granting funds for the establishment of special schools for citizens has been another area of Ford Foundation work. A program to improve education in Detroit's gray areas concentrates on all three groups involved--teachers, children, and parents. Teachers receive instruction in the inner workings of gray-area neighborhoods and on the needs of their students. For the children, the Detroit project concentrates on broader cultural experience and specialized training in reading and arithmetic. Such courses of interest for parents as dressmaking and marketing for mothers and furniture and electric repair for fathers have been organized in the school buildings.

Research is another important concern of the Ford Foundation. Studies have been underway in the areas of public housing and social mobility, multi-problem families, police seminars, youth work programs, and teenage marriages. An experiment in the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents through informal group meetings and a probation system has also been supported by the Foundation and has proved not only cheaper but more effective than the reformatory systems.

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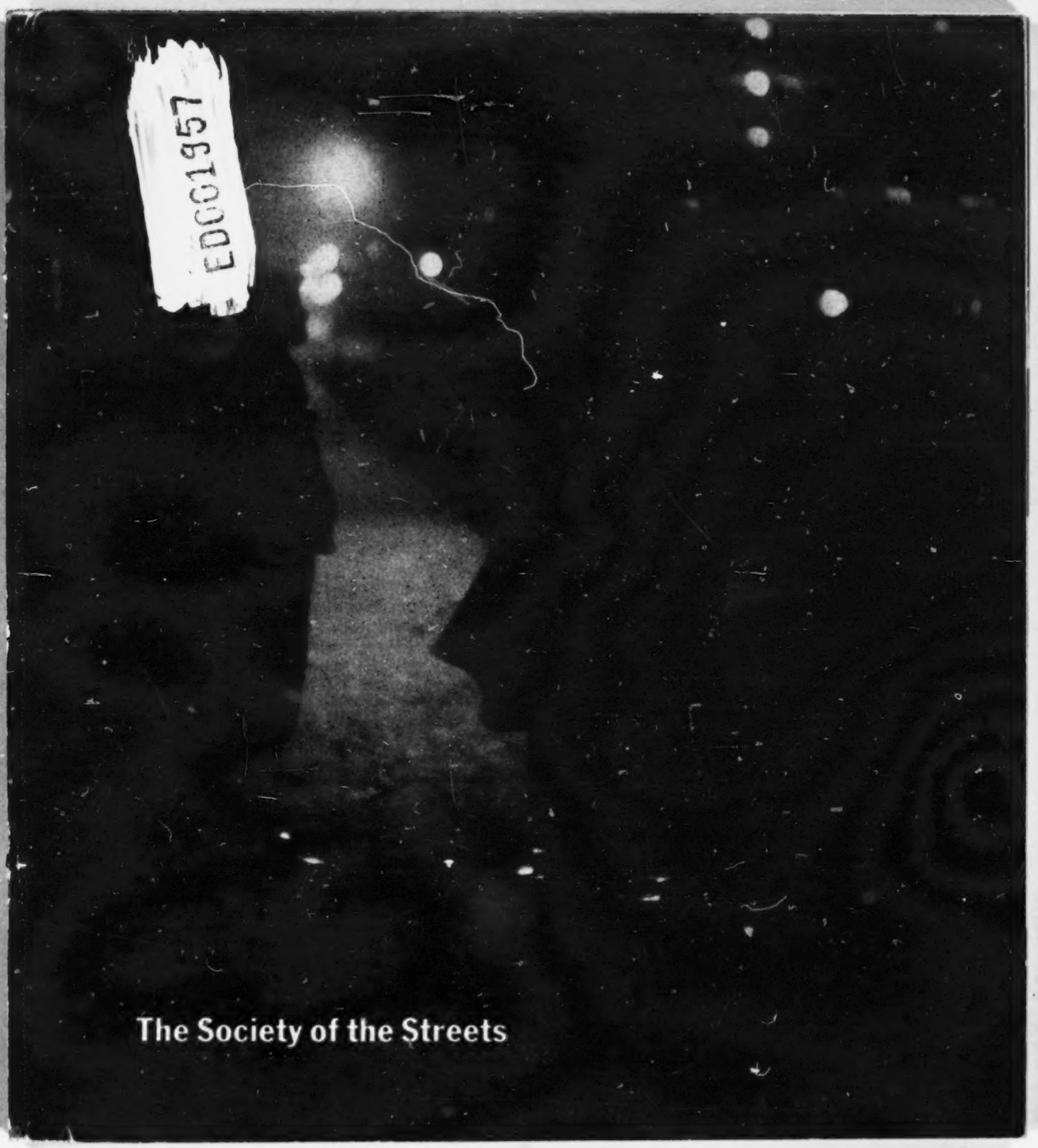

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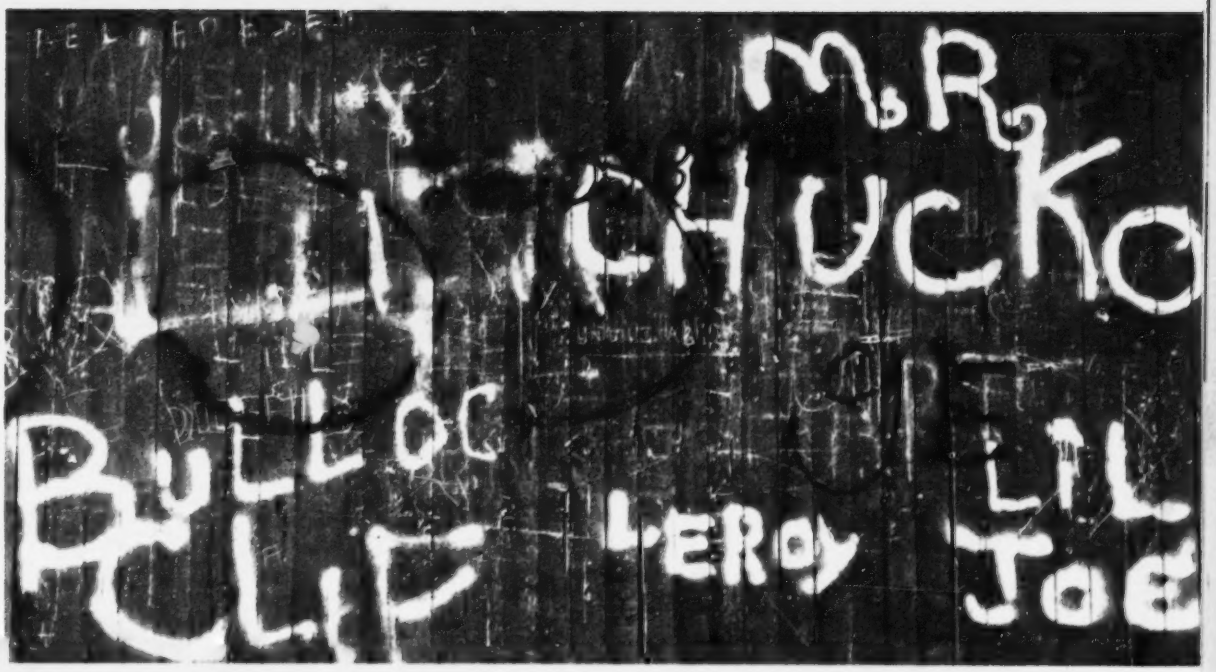

"The Society of the Streets" *is one of a series of booklets on activities supported by the Ford Foundation. The purpose is to present informally and in a general, nontechnical way the story of some phase of the Foundation's work. Other publications are listed on page 50.*

Additional copies and further information may be obtained by writing to the Ford Foundation, Office of Reports, 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

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Early in 1961, a truck delivered ninety-one cartons of documents to the archives of Syracuse University. From these cartons were unpacked more than 500 large volumes, some in battered original bindings, others rebound in a dull gray.

The volumes were the records of the New York House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents, the first reformatory for young offenders in the United States. Virtually unknown to scholars, the records span more than a century, from the establishment of the House of Refuge in 1824 to its closing in 1935.

The books were brought to light by a young historian at the University's Youth Development Center, which was established in 1958 with a grant from the Ford Foundation. Following up an obscure reference in a manuscript guide, he located the documents in a vault at the New York State Vocational Institution at West Coxsackie. The collection is now on loan to Syracuse from the State of New York.

Despite the curls and flourishes of nineteenth-century penmanship, the books' brown ink is clearly legible. Through day-to-day records and more than 30,000 case histories, volume after volume tells a story of hope and despair, stark tragedy and unexpected triumph. Some biographies cover six closely written sheets of paper. Others, summed up in a few lines, echo bleakly across a hundred years.

The brief entry for Bridget G., who came to the House of Refuge in 1825, tells as much as a detailed juvenile file of today:

Bridget . . . does not know where she was Born nor how old she is, I should think her 7. Her father is dead & her mother in Bridewell—she does not appear to have judgment or capacity to give any information respecting herself.

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John P. entered the same year, shortly before his fifteenth birthday. His father had disappeared four years previously, presumably to go to sea. Placed in a foster home on Long Island by his mother, John ran away to New York City to find his father. Alone, he slept in cellars and wandered the streets. He was jailed four times for vagrancy and theft before being taken in by the House of Refuge. Within two months he escaped, was recaptured, and escaped again by forcing the window of his room and shinnying down the lightning rod. His initial escape cost John "3 strokes with the cats"; for the second, he was shackled to a ball and chain for seventy-two days.

A modern reader may feel comforted because the lash and the ball and chain have passed into history as a method of curbing delinquency. But the case histories show a life with close parallels today—parental neglect, disrupted schooling, petty crime.

Moreover, modern life has introduced new complexities, such as the influx of migrants from rural areas to already overcrowded cities, with a heightening of racial prejudice, and the decreasing need for unskilled labor in an age of automation.

The cost of juvenile delinquency to the nation runs into the billions of dollars annually. To this cost must be added the intangible loss of the skills, talents, and even genius that may exist in the tens of thousands of young people who are now a drain on society.

Despite progress in the past century, society still lacks knowledge of the causes of delinquency and is groping for means of preventing and coping with it. Too many parents and communities register unbelieving shock when delinquency explodes at their doorsteps. Too often, "reform" institutions merely turn out graduate criminals.

Yet the very complexity of the problem has taught many citizens and specialists to reject pat explanations and magical solutions. Instead, many specialists and agencies are now seeking to broaden understanding of juvenile delinquency, to experiment with promising new approaches to its prevention and cure, and to bring to bear the intelligence and resources of society as a whole on this major national problem.

The Ford Foundation has been supporting several of these efforts since 1957. It has made grants totaling approximately $12 million in these general areas:

Pilot and action programs: Selected private and public bodies have been assisted in expanding imaginative and promising small-scale programs in the prevention and reduction of delinquency. The Foundation has also financed extensive evaluations so that successful efforts may be understood and applied to other communities. Grants have been made to try out new techniques of rehabilitation as possible alternatives to traditional correctional methods.

Across the country, the Foundation has also assisted citizens' groups who work to improve current correctional practices. Grants have been made to improve the training and practices of social workers, police, and probation officers.

Research: Support has been given for institutions and individuals seeking answers to such questions as: Why do certain urban areas have a higher rate of delinquency? What can be done to give youngsters in these areas a more rewarding life? Why is gang fighting confined to a few big cities, and what can be done to prevent it? Why do so many "rehabilitated" youngsters go back to crime?

Research, experimentation, and action are sometimes features of a single program, as in the two youth-studies centers established with Ford Foundation grants at the University of Southern California and Syracuse University.

The Great Cities Program: The Foundation's Education and Public Affairs programs collaborate in projects to improve the education of underprivileged children in the "gray areas" of large cities. These neighborhoods, characterized by poverty, unemployment, and family instability, are fertile breeding grounds for crime and juvenile delinquency. The Foundation has made grants for school-improvement programs in ten school systems across the country, and is now expanding the gray-areas program to attack the human problems of entire communities.

This pamphlet describes some of these projects—in terms of the ideas they represent, the men and women they have enlisted, and the young people toward whom the whole effort is directed.

From Gang to Club

The Henry Horner Boys Club is in a public-housing project on Chicago's West Side. In an area where gang violence once was rife, citizens walk the streets unafraid and gang fights have given way to sports events.

The Horner Club has done much to bring about this transformation, not so much by its facilities and activities inside the clubhouse, but by its work on the streets outside. Through an extension program, it has reached out into the neighborhood to bring youngsters into the club, rather than waiting passively for them to join on their own initiative.

Because there were lessons to be learned from the program, and because the neighborhood is typical of many slum districts across the nation where delinquency is a problem, the Ford Foundation in 1960 granted $875,000 to the Chicago Boys Clubs, of which the Horner Club is one, for a six-year experiment in delinquency prevention in three areas.

"As the population of our cities increases," says David R. Hunter, head of the Foundation's youth-development work, "thousands who can afford to do so move to the expanding suburbs. Into the deteriorating sections of real estate they leave behind flock the racial minorities and others who have not made the grade in our competitive society.

"The adolescents in these areas are victims of a paradox. The goals of our society are predominantly middle-class. Portraying 'the American dream' of unlimited opportunity and material success, movies, newspapers, and television extol the man with wealth, status and education.

"At the same time, society denies slum youngsters the chance to achieve its goals. Middle-class children are brought up to expect success, are helped by their parents to achieve it, and are taught to subordinate present satisfactions to long-range opportunities. But adolescents in depressed urban neighborhoods have little direct contact with successful

Adult extension worker from Henry Horner Boys Club in Chicago (third from left) mixes with teen-agers at lunch counter. He contacts youths on street, brings them to club.

persons, often lack an adequate family life, and are unsure about finding legitimate ways to achieve recognition.

"Frustrated, these youngsters seek alternative methods of satisfaction. If society will not give them the status they seek, they will look for it within smaller groups with goals they *can* achieve. The values of such groups are often directly contrary to those of society. Status may depend on prowess in gang fights, in flouting authority, and in taking by stealth what cannot be obtained legitimately.

"Foundation-assisted experiments in delinquency control in the slum areas of several big cities are aimed at giving such youngsters legitimate opportunities for life."

The Horner Club, forerunner of the Chicago experiment, consisted in 1956 of three cellar rooms without windows or plumbing. The director at that time, Cressy Larson, began studying the youths in the neighborhood, and trying to talk to them. Most of the boys had quit school, and had little home life. The gang was their refuge from a hostile world.

John Ray, who is still with the club, joined Larson later that year. Within three months he knew a hundred teen-agers by name or sight. Gradually, they began turning to him for advice. He arbitrated their disputes, appeared in court in their behalf, and talked to school principals to help solve some of the youths' problems.

Gang members gradually turned to more constructive forms of activity. Groups gradually transformed themselves and began organizing meetings, dances, and sports events. The club program, for boys aged six to eighteen, added a photography group, summer camp, woodshop, library, and game room. Many gang members returned to high school.

Members of Ideal Gents relax at Henry Horner Boys Club, Chicago. Formerly a street gang, Gents are now social club engaged in constructive activity. Such transformation is aim of extension worker, who contacts gang members on street, tries to give them new interests, leading to chance for better education and job.

Others found jobs and completed their high-school requirements in the club library.

Ray revived an idea successfully introduced by Larson—the Honor Guard, consisting of drill teams with a drum and bugle corps and drum majorette units. Ray found that the drill teams, organized on the basis of existing groups, quickened the transformation of gangs into social clubs. The boys were proud of their ability to master tricky drill movements. Their skill gave them something they wanted—adult support and praise.

Later, Ray organized a youth council that set behavior standards for social-club affairs. The council received complaints about excessive drinking and other social offenses, and the representative of the club concerned was expected to make sure the offender was disciplined.

Adult groups were also formed. Volunteer drill instructors for the Honor Guard were organized into groups of "fathers of the Guards." The women who met to alter the uniforms for the Guard became a ladies' auxiliary. Soon, adults were sponsoring weekend outings with busloads of children and parents. The Henry Horner Parents Neighborhood Council was set up, with members mainly from the housing project.

Out of this experience came the idea of a resource coordinator who would work for the boys within the community. He would contact local industry to find employment possibilities. He would work with such neighborhood agencies as churches, schools, and the police to develop a joint approach to pressing youth problems. And he would work with such community groups as block organizations and parents' groups.

The Foundation-supported experiment aims at a thorough test of this extension-work effort to provide socially acceptable outlets for the drive and energies of slum-area teen-agers. In addition, a new emphasis

is being placed on the organization of community resources to provide jobs and opportunities for personal development.

The experiment covers two test areas besides the predominantly Negro Horner section. One, the Jane Addams Boys Club area, also has Mexican, Italian, and Puerto Rican families. The other, the Lincoln Club area, has Negro, German, Italian, Puerto Rican, and Hungarian groups. Also, three control areas were selected, each similar to one of the test areas in housing, ethnic, and delinquency patterns. A comparison between the test and control areas will measure the experiment's effectiveness.

The Chicago Boys Clubs recruited more extension workers and resource coordinators, not only to test the Horner approach, but also to mobilize other Chicago agencies in a concerted attack on youth problems.

Research, an integral part of the Chicago experiment, is conducted by the University of Michigan. A University sociologist, Hans W. Mattick, is field director of the project—watching, questioning, and collecting and assessing data on the spot. In Ann Arbor, Professor Ronald Lippitt and his staff at the University's Center for Research in Group Dynamics collate the reports, and keep in constant touch with the Chicago staff. If extension work plus community-resource coordination can produce results in three neighborhoods with different racial patterns, the lessons should be applicable to many other cities.

Al Collier of Los Angeles is a Senior Deputy Probation Officer—to the tough teen-agers he deals with every day, "a cop." But, like the social workers in Chicago, Collier and others in the Los Angeles County Probation Department believe that prevention is a sounder long-range solution to delinquency than correction.

"Correction by itself can never keep pace with juvenile delinquency," says Nort Sanders, director of the Department's Delinquency Prevention Service Office. "Crime and violence are commonplace in our slums. We estimate that at least 20,000 teen-agers belong to street gangs. Marijuana, heroin, and illegally-obtained barbiturates are widely used."

Collier heads Group Guidance, a specialized service in which twelve deputy probation officers work with the hard-core city gangs that are not handled by conventional youth-serving agencies. Since it started in 1943, Group Guidance has centered on three basic goals: establishing an individual-counseling relationship with gang members; using this relationship in influencing the gang; and introducing family and neighborhood influences directly into work with gangs.

In approaching a gang, a Group Guidance deputy begins with an activity program to attract and hold the interest of its members. He gradually gets to know the gang members as individuals and tailors his activities to their needs. He is available equally to gang members, police, parents, and school and other agency personnel. As his influence increases, the orientation of the gang changes, organized sports and social activities increase, and, hopefully, delinquency and gang conflicts lessen.

Group Guidance also works with parents of the gang members—with varied success. "The parents proved much more difficult to work with than the youth," one officer reported. "They wanted to blame everyone but themselves for the gang activity their youth became involved in—the deputy sheriffs, the school officials, and, most of all, the rival gang." But Group Guidance presses home the fact that parents can handle many of the youngsters' problems.

Although Collier's deputies are not social workers in the ordinary

Delegates of Los Angeles youth clubs have formed a federation and meet regularly under auspices of County Probation Department's Group Guidance.

Orville Luster, head of Youth for Service, San Francisco project assisted by the Ford Foundation, talks with local teen-agers.

Below, Luster and Y.F.S. members tackle work project, a feature of club program.

sense, they receive training to deal with sociological problems. "Also," says Collier, "a lot of training comes on the job. If a deputy has an affinity for working with gang members, he'll learn to deal with them on their own level. And no amount of theoretical training will tell you how to deal with a kid who comes at you with a knife."

Furthermore, a deputy is what the sociologists call an "unambiguous authority figure." "These kids respect the masculine image," Collier states. "They know where they are. First, they know the deputy is a cop. But they also think, 'Here is a cop who likes me.' "

The point is especially important for the many youths who come from homes without fathers. Gang activity, some authorities claim, is due partially to a "compulsive masculinity," an acting out of the male role that has no counterpart in the home. If this is true, a strong male authority figure could be an important influence in reducing delinquency.

This is one of the points to be evaluated in a four-year experiment supported by the Ford Foundation. A $133,000 grant to the Los Angeles Probation Department will test the Group Guidance approach in one of the toughest areas of the city. Gang trouble is expected to become more severe unless steps are taken to deal with it. To ensure a thorough test, the number of Group Guidance workers in the area will be increased. Researchers will collect data on delinquency rates in the area and compare them with other areas of Los Angeles County.

The deputies will concentrate on "building bridges" between gang members and neighborhood institutions and agencies. They will also work with parents' groups to stimulate family interest in the youths' welfare, and will help gang members find jobs and recognize employment as a desirable objective.

Schools for Citizens

Blonde, purposeful Betty Deshler holds down a man-sized job. Her headquarters is an office in Barbour Junior High School, in Detroit's "gray area" between the business district and the suburbs. Her job: to interpret her school to the community and the community to the school.

Miss Deshler is one of seven school-community agents taking part in an experiment in the Detroit school system. Detroit is one of ten cities receiving assistance from the Ford Foundation for experiments to bring better education and a better life to children in the blighted areas.*

Most of the parents in these areas are poorly educated and often unemployed. Often they come from depressed rural areas of the South and are ill-equipped to cope with urban life. "To get such parents interested in the educational progress of their children," says Miss Deshler, "it is essential to get them to take that first important step—the one over the school threshold."

One method is the organization in the school building of courses of interest and dollars-and-cents value to parents. For the mothers, Miss Deshler has organized classes in dressmaking, hat-making, and home nursing, and a marketing course, which gives tips on the best buys in the neighborhood stores. Fathers are attracted to classes in which they can repair furniture or electrical equipment. Other classes are organized in reading, arithmetic, and child psychology. Many of the courses are run by regular members of the school staff, who thus have a chance to get to know their pupils' parents and understand their outlook. There are informal clubs in child care, typewriting, and sports. Other groups take regular trips to places of cultural interest.

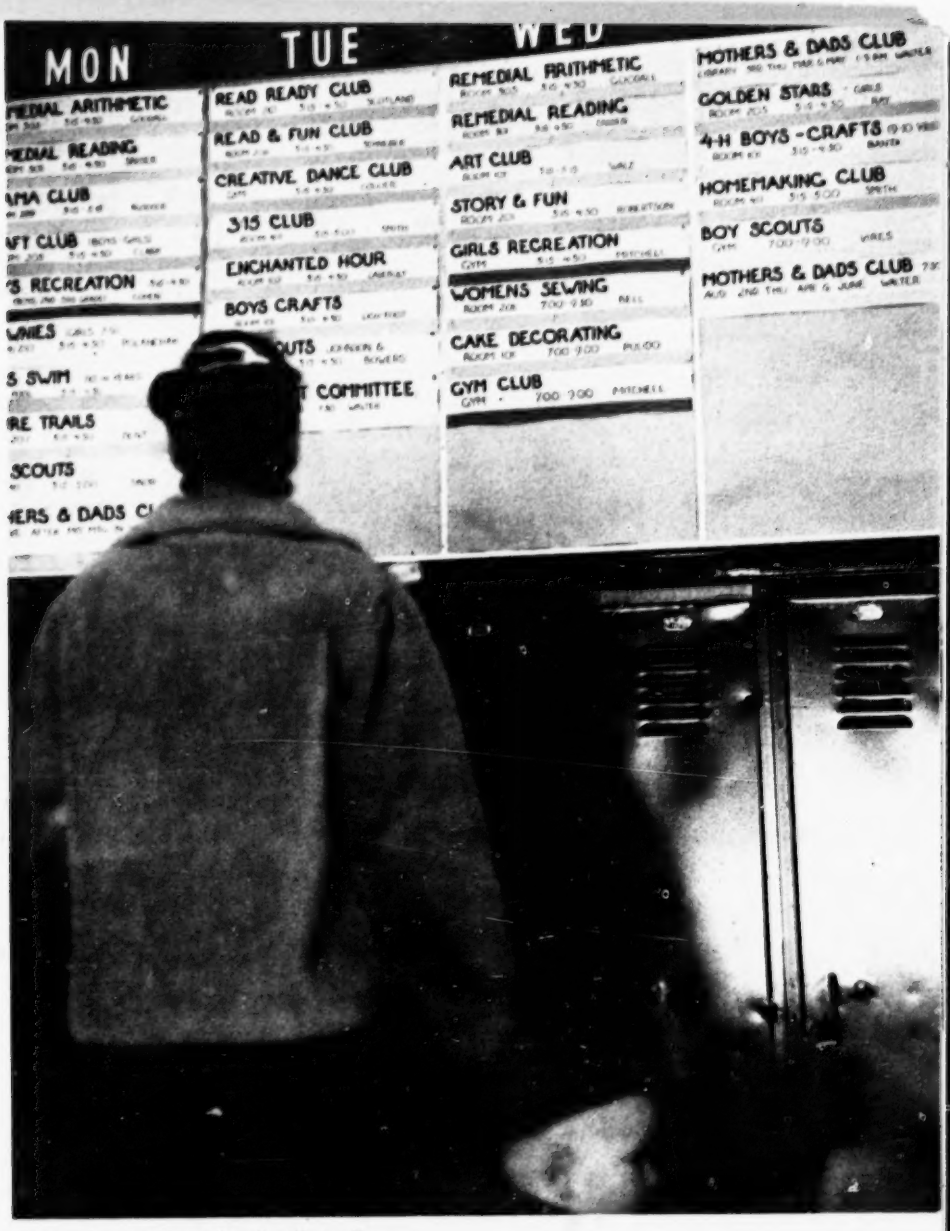
*The formal name of the Foundation program is the Great Cities School Improvement Program.

Miss Deshler, a social worker, maintains contact with social agencies and spends much time traveling around the area. She interviews officers of block organizations in the big public-housing projects, trying to get them interested in the schools. Agencies provide psychiatric and physical-therapy services for parents, and instructors for school courses in first aid.

The school-community agent also organizes out-of-school activities for the children. "It's hard for people living outside these neighborhoods to believe, but most of these children never get downtown," says Miss Deshler. To broaden their interests, she has set up a series of trips to television studios, theater performances, movie theaters showing travel films, the local library, and the historical museum and village in neighboring Dearborn.

In the gray areas, social decay usually outpaces the most ambitious urban-renewal programs. "The human problems of these areas are the most acute—and usually the least attended to," says Dyke Brown, a Foundation vice president. "Too often local authorities are concerned with physical redevelopment to the exclusion of the human factor. Often slum clearance and redevelopment merely add dislocation to the forces breaking down families and neighborhoods.

"Schools in these neighborhoods cannot continue as pale imitations of middle-class schools. They must experiment with new curricula and technologies and new patterns of cooperation with other community agencies. By encouraging adults to contribute their skills, the school can penetrate the facade of indifference surrounding some segments of the community."



Detroit mother checks list of activities run by school in Great Cities program for both children and parents. Program seeks to interest parents in school.

Parents and teacher at Philadelphia school discuss ways of improving education of children in minority group.

Below, Philadelphia children in language-arts class. Training in English language, an important part of Great Cities School Improvement Program, is key to learning other subjects.

Detroit's program to improve education in the gray areas concentrates on all three groups involved—the teachers, the children, and the parents.

In the seven schools involved in the experiment, the school-community coordinator is responsible for providing the parent with a larger role. As Dr. Samuel Brownell, Detroit school superintendent, puts it, "We are attempting to retrieve one generation in order to salvage the next. Much of the work done in the Great Cities project will continue for years to be adult education at an elementary level."

The teacher, as well as the parent, is sometimes a problem in the gray areas. "Teachers often come from a middle-class background and do not understand the problems involved," Dr. Brownell points out. The Detroit project emphasizes instruction for teachers on the inner workings of gray-area neighborhoods and on the attitudes and needs of their students.

For the children, the Detroit project concentrates on broader cultural experience and on specialized teaching in reading and arithmetic. In addition, extra staff members have been added to the schools to help with psychological problems. A full-time visiting teacher or school social worker interviews emotionally disturbed children, referring some to mental-health authorities for treatment and working with parents to solve emotional problems.

"Broader cultural experience" may mean many things—after-school story hours, or after-school clubs and interest groups in science, photography, dramatics, and scouting activities. At Marcy School, one of the seven in the Detroit project, it also means the "library caravan."

A school survey showed there were virtually no newspapers, maga-

zines, or books in pupils' homes. Communication was almost entirely by radio or television. To get pupils interested in reading, the school began lending the books from its library. This brought good literature into the homes, and parents as well as children were induced to pick up a book occasionally.

When its supply of books was exhausted, the school turned for help to the Mark Twain branch public library. Because it was too far away for most of the pupils, five teachers lent their cars and gave their time to take pupils there. Parents, too, provided cars. Officials at the branch library expected a hundred pupils on the first trip; 200 were waiting. Since then the caravan has continued once every two weeks, and the number of pupils has grown.

In the five years of the Detroit project, officials will collect a multitude of data on progress by pupils, parents, and teachers. They will study the subsequent careers of pupils to determine if a larger percentage of them become productive instead of dependent citizens. They will look for evidence of a decline in delinquency. They will assess school influence in the community, as indicated by participation of parents and teachers in joint activities.

Similar evaluations will be made in the nine other cities—Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C. Although the programs of the cities vary, they share many common features. Curricula and methods in all schools are adapted to the needs of the individual pupil. Emphasis is placed on improving reading and other basic language skills. Schools attempt to relate their curricula to the home and to the work of other community agencies.

High-school student who has been identified as a potential dropout divides time between school (above) and job in New York City Department of Welfare (right). Program encourages students to finish school while equipping them for employment.

A problem throughout the educational system, but particularly acute in the gray areas of large cities, is the dropout rate.

In large cities, about half the pupils drop out of school before graduation. In the poorer areas of these cities, the figure may be 75 per cent. Many youngsters for whom the twelve-year school sequence is simply not a meaningful way to spend time leave school as soon as they legally can—at the rate of 900,000 a year.

These dropouts have a hard time finding a job. Unemployment among teen-agers is twice the over-all national rate and will probably rise even higher. In the 1960s, automation is likely to mean relatively fewer jobs for unskilled and semiskilled workers.

In 1961, with a Foundation grant of $190,000, a national clearinghouse was established in Washington, D.C., to correlate efforts to deal with the dropout and youth-employment problems. Operated by the National Education Association, the clearinghouse will collect and analyze information on school, community, and government programs; provide consulting services for school and community agencies; and prepare and distribute publications. N. E. A. will sponsor conferences on other aspects of the problem.

In New York City, the Foundation granted $230,000 for a program enabling potential dropouts to work full time every other week in civil-service jobs and spend the rest of the time in special education programs. A similar experiment assisted by a Foundation grant in Kansas City involves 200 potential dropouts.

Richmond, California, a city of 70,000 people across the bay from San Francisco, was doing something about school dropouts and youth

unemployment years before the problem hit the national best-seller lists with Dr. James B. Conant's book, "Slums and Suburbs."

Here is a youth discussing job problems with friends at Neighborhood House, a private social agency in a slum area of Richmond. Employed as a dishwasher in a hotel, he mentions that the hotel's well-paid head chef is a Negro. The youth worker at Neighborhood House is quick to point out the moral: This man has risen to a responsible job; other Negroes can do the same.

The boys, however, are unimpressed. As one puts it: "That cat was born with a silver spoon in his mouth."

Pressed to explain his meaning, the boy elaborates: "He must have had a father, who made him learn a trade."

Better than a table of statistics, this exchange reveals a central factor in the attitude of youth in this area. Many of the youths come from broken homes. Having two parents interested in a child's welfare is an unusual privilege.

The problem in North Richmond dates back to the mid-1940s, when many Negroes migrated from the South, attracted by jobs in the shipyards. Many bought land and put months of hard work into building their own homes. Then, with the change to a peacetime economy, unskilled and semiskilled workers found themselves out of a job. The area became depressed.

The effect on the youth of the area was disastrous. Children lost respect for unskilled jobs but received little encouragement to develop skills of their own. "Why try," ran the typical argument, "when the odds are stacked against you and you won't get a break anyhow?" Hence, educational achievement was low; most seventh-graders, for example,

Evening study is part of Neighborhood House program in North Richmond, California. Children are encouraged to catch up on their school work at special classes held in nearby school two nights a week. Classes are run by teacher with assistance of volunteers from community.

were reading at a third- or fourth-grade level. They entered junior high school unprepared, with little incentive to improve.

In this setting, Neighborhood House began a program to interest the whole community in the future of its youngsters. In particular, it sought to prove to youth in the area that there *were* opportunities for jobs, status, and satisfaction in life for those with the necessary education and skills.

After seven years, the Neighborhood House program covered many facets of youthful and adult life—study halls, remedial reading, workshops, parent institutes, a job-upgrading program, and more. In 1961, the Ford Foundation granted the agency $100,000 to enlarge its staff and extend its program. And in a formal evaluation, Dr. Harold Carter of the University of California is seeking to identify techniques used in the Richmond project that might be applicable to larger urban areas.

E. P. "Red" Stephenson, the lanky, red-haired North Carolinian who is executive director, plans to expand the agency's efforts to help children in their school work and to gain the support of parents and community in the task. He cites the study-hall project, one of Neighborhood House's most successful efforts, designed to help junior-high-school students with their homework. "At Downer Junior High, children who took books home from school were often ridiculed or shunned by their classmates. We tried a dramatic way of demonstrating the value of study.

"One night, the rock 'n' roll program on the Neighborhood House radio was turned off, and a few children were invited to sit down to study away from the distractions of a crowded home. The idea caught on. Soon the sessions were being conducted three nights a week. Study became accepted by the teen-agers in the community as the sensible thing.

Children with books under their arms became the rule, not the exception. A qualified teacher was employed as supervisor."

Neighborhood House began a job-upgrading program after a survey showed that of sixty youths between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, thirty were neither in school nor working. The rest merely attended a continuation school for three hours a day, and of these, only nine had part-time jobs.

"The program tries to help the boys recognize the need for further schooling and to help them solve personal problems blocking their search for self-respect as productive members of society," says Everett Beane, its director.

Neighborhood House keeps in touch with employers and unions. It prepares boys for jobs by telling them how to contact employers, write letters asking for employment, and conduct themselves at an interview. Despite the lack of opportunity for unskilled workers in the area, the job-upgrading program has had success in placing boys in part- and full-time jobs. Successful applicants keep in touch with Beane, report progress, and describe their jobs to other boys.

The Research Centers

The block of stores facing Salt City Homes in Syracuse, New York, houses "the best bakery in town," a delicatessen, and a supermarket featuring foodstuffs for highly cultivated palates. The neighborhood has the newest, and reputedly the best, school in the city. The area has no store-front churches, pawnshops, or taverns.

Salt City Homes is a public-housing project with a difference. It was built not in a decaying area but in an established middle-class neighborhood with high social status.

In contrast, Pioneer Homes, another of the city's public housing projects, is in the heart of a blighted area and is still surrounded by deteriorating housing. These and two other projects furnish a testing ground for an important study being conducted by the Syracuse Youth Development Center, which was set up with a Ford Foundation grant in 1958 to the University to conduct research and experimental programs in adolescent behavior.

The study, titled "Public Housing and Social Mobility," has a basically simple idea—to see if families moving into a middle-class area pick up some of its ideas and standards. The Center hopes the study will have direct value in framing public-housing policy and in curbing delinquency by changing youngsters' attitudes.

The experiment grew out of the observation by some staff members of a "striving and a straining" among the residents at Salt City Homes, in sharp contrast with general apathy at Pioneer Homes. To find out whether the new environment is responsible for the "striving" tenants' progress, the Center is interviewing families when they move into the projects, while they are there, and after they move out. Contrasting patterns of life in the projects are being compared.

Salt City Homes is public housing project located in established middle-class area of Syracuse, New York. Study by Youth Development Center is assessing effect of new environment on families moving into area from poorer neighborhood.

Some pertinent questions: Are the adults and youngsters of Salt City Homes assimilating some of the values of the surrounding area—acquiring the middle-class save-now-enjoy-later thinking, for example? Or is there assimilation in the other direction? Are the middle-class children learning to shoot craps, and are they teaching the formerly culturally-deprived children anything in return?

The experiment is typical of the work done at Syracuse and at the Foundation-supported Youth Studies Center at the University of Southern California. Both institutions are conducting several large-scale experiments to broaden understanding of the causes of delinquency and to suggest methods for its cure. Basic research merges into action research as the centers cooperate with local school officials, police, and other authorities by providing expert analysis and theoretical knowledge to improve community services.

In the main office of the Syracuse Youth Development Center, hangs a board listing all the Center's projects. They include:

Multi-Problem Families. The Youth Center has set up a family consultation and referral service in the Pioneer Homes project for families with a combination of such problems as delinquency, marital trouble, neglect of children, and health difficulties. In cooperation with the Syracuse Housing Authority, the Center sends a consultant to explore problems with each family, assess its attitudes, explain available community services, and prepare the family for agency referral. In the research aspect, the Center tries to determine why these families fare worse than other families with the same economic background and what effect community services have on them.

One-Parent Families. A conference was sponsored on one-parent families. Social workers, clergy, and other professionals in social guidance attended, and, to the Center's surprise, so did more than eighty widowed, divorced, or separated parents. A second meeting a few months later covered budget planning, needs of children in one-parent homes, legal aspects of single parenthood, problems of the newly widowed or divorced, personal adjustment, social life of the single parent, and special problems of the motherless home. The parents formed a regular group, which now has a mailing list of 265 people, meets monthly, and hears outstanding speakers.

Madison Neighborhood Project. The Center is conducting an experimental service and research program in a downtown neighborhood populated by low-income families and marked by limited housing opportunities, unemployment, gambling, and vice. The project is based in three schools, and, like the Great Cities program, emphasizes remedial reading and arithmetic and improved guidance.

Police Seminars. The Center conducts seminars for police officers on the problems of juvenile delinquency. Each seminar consists of ten weekly lectures by Center staff and other authorities.

Work and Youth. As part of its research on the work experiences and attitudes of youth, the Center has conducted studies on work-study programs and local job opportunities and on school dropouts. The Center is also working with the County Youth Board to evaluate the Board's new work-study program for sixteen- and seventeen-year-old dropouts.

The Center conducted a survey of work camps as a means of rehabilitating delinquents. A report by the study director, Lee Cary, described New York State's facilities and outlined the experience of other states and the Federal government. The report raised questions on the value of work camps and stressed the need for an operational philosophy, school instruction, and better staff training in camp programs.

One "laboratory" for the University of Southern California's Youth Studies Center is Santa Monica, a community embracing the mansions of Hollywood movie executives, dilapidated slums, and a variety of ethnic groups.

Since it was established with a Ford Foundation grant of $700,000 in 1958, the Center has made extensive surveys of Santa Monica's social and economic makeup, including juvenile-offense trends over a twenty-year period. Information was transferred from police records to punched cards, and then fed into computers to reveal patterns and changes in juvenile misbehavior by area, age, sex, economic level, and ethnic background. Studies were made of the police department's juvenile bureau and of the general behavior and attitudes of Santa Monica's youth.

The findings have already proved useful as a basis for discussion with welfare groups, reports Dr. E. K. Nelson, the Center director. For example, they showed the need for earlier and better identification and treatment of juvenile problems through "reaching out" casework services, social-work programs in the schools, and better mental-health services. Police, too, are studying the material to see what lessons can be learned.

The Center is using the mass of basic information mainly in two

Palm trees in Santa Monica, California, overlook both attractive areas and slum neighborhoods. With differences in income, social status, and ethnic groupings, Santa Monica provides a laboratory for social studies being carried out by University of Southern California's Youth Studies Center, established with a Ford Foundation grant.

studies—one on the critical factors in adolescence, the other on relationships between youth and authority figures.

The first project is designed, in the words of Dr. Fred Shanley, its head, to "tease out" the reasons for delinquency and school dropouts. Its action phase is a small-scale program for potential dropouts in the Santa Monica school system.

In the basic-research phase, a ninety-minute interview was recorded with each of 300 schoolboys, divided into three groups but all with matched intelligence and social class. The first group consisted of "normal" students who had developed socially acceptable patterns of behavior in school and were liked by both their fellow students and those in authority. The second group consisted of students who were viewed by their fellows as "aggressive" and who tended to rebel against authority and to underachieve academically. The third group consisted of "passive underachievers," whose school work was below that expected for their I.Q.s and who were withdrawn in social relations with their fellow pupils.

Computers will analyze the mass of interview data to determine the factors that the adolescents themselves consider critical in their adjustment at home, in the neighborhood, in school, and in the general community. The study will attempt to give reasons, from the adolescent viewpoint, for the growth of problem behavior. It will provide a basis for the action-research programs to follow.

In the setting of the critical-factors project, the Center has already carried out an action-research program for potential dropouts. Thirty boys were assigned to two teachers for three hours in the morning, and placed in jobs with the city and local industry in the afternoon. All the

Student gets training for job as part of Santa Monica program for potential school dropouts. Program is part of experiment carried out by University of Southern California's Youth Studies Center.

Below, students attend regular class in morning. Curriculum stresses subjects related to employment.

boys were in the tenth or eleventh grade and followed a curriculum specially developed to suit their abilities and interests and to emphasize practical training. For example, English lessons dealt with completion of job applications, note-taking, and letter-writing; social studies dealt with techniques of locating and adjusting to a job; life science covered first aid, elements of proper diet, and the effects of smoking, alcohol, and narcotics.

Evaluation of the program is not yet complete, but a comparison with thirty-two control students who remained in regular classes is of interest. Of the thirty experimental students, only three voluntarily left school—two within the first two months, before the program could be truly effective; of the control group, eight students dropped out. Interviews indicated that the experimental students showed a more positive shift in attitudes toward their school experience.

To improve the youths' chances of succeeding at their jobs and to secure jobs for other potential dropouts, a committee of Santa Monica citizens was enlisted to interpret the program to the community. In addition, a youth counselor worked with the adolescents for two hours a day to help solve emotional and disciplinary problems.

The study of critical factors takes into account one kind of authority—that of the school. The complementary study, of authority relationships, seeks to assess the views that adolescents and authorities in other fields have of one another. A total of 178 boy and girl probationers and the probation officers who supervised them were interviewed, as well as a number of higher authority figures—judges, referees of juvenile courts, and senior probation officials. After all the interviews are coded and analyzed, action programs will be initiated to test the Center's conclusions.

While complex research projects can be handled only by research centers with the necessary equipment and multi-disciplinary staff, the Foundation also encourages individual researchers to add to the general store of knowledge on delinquency. In 1960, the Foundation announced a three-year, $300,000 program of awards to young scholars, and invited thirty experts in the field to select promising candidates for $2,500 grants.

"The objective is to give younger people who have not yet built up professional reputations a chance to try out some promising ideas," says Jackson Toby, chairman of the Department of Sociology at Rutgers University and consultant to the Foundation on youth development. "There are many young researchers whose main problem is how to get started. These small grants will encourage new talent and new concepts in delinquency prevention and control."

Here is a sampling of the research projects:

A study of teen-age marriages and their implications for juvenile delinquency in an industrial society, by two doctoral candidates at the University of California (Berkeley).

A survey of the 6,000 persons serving sentences in Federal institutions for auto theft, by an associate professor of psychology at the Catholic University of America.

An educational seminar to be conducted at a reformatory by a Howard University graduate assistant, with half of the participants college students and the other half reformatory inmates.

An analysis of the characteristics of successful youth-bureau workers, by two graduate students at Wayne State University.

Experiment in Reform

A dozen boys troop into the basement of a house near the Brigham Young University campus in Provo, Utah. They have spent the day digging ditches, and all wear heavy, mud-stained boots. They are healthy and tanned from prolonged work out of doors. They take their places on couches and a few straight-backed chairs. LaMar T. Empey, associate professor of sociology at the University, switches on a tape recorder, the signal for an unusual meeting to begin.

The boys are part of an experiment in rehabilitation that has so far shown chances of success beyond normal correction methods. Adjudged delinquent by a court, these youths—instead of being sent to a reformatory or placed on probation—have been assigned to "the Pinehills program." They live at home and work on city projects, such as tree-planting, litter-clearing, and street maintenance. Late every afternoon they attend a meeting at the house in the Pinehills area for a discussion of their problems.

Unlike reformatory inmates, the youths are not told how much time they will spend in the Pinehills program. Indeed, a boy's first impression is one of bewilderment at the absence of regulation. He soon finds that he cannot earn his release by outwardly conforming to a set of rules, because there are no apparent rules to conform to. He learns that the only way out is through the group meeting. He must prove, not only to the authorities but also to his fellow delinquents, that he is fit to be released. The final decision is theirs.

The method was pioneered at the Highfields Residential Group Center in New Jersey and is known as the "Highfields approach." To test the effectiveness of the method, the Ford Foundation made a grant of $182,000 to Brigham Young University for a six-year experiment. Simi-

lar Foundation-sponsored experiments are being carried out in Kentucky and New Jersey.

"The Highfields and Pinehills approaches are based on the view that, while some delinquents need personal psychotherapy, most are members of a delinquent system with its own values," Professor Empey says. "They rely on this system to give them recognition they cannot obtain in the larger society, where even the schools regard them as undesirable.

"Hence the problem: to bring the delinquent to accept the conventional system by making the delinquent and conventional alternatives clear and by making the conventional system have some value for him."

The meeting at Pinehills illustrates how delinquents may be brought along this path. The center of discussion today is Joe, a rebellious fifteen-year-old. He has been in the program for two months, and has apparently made little progress in changing his antagonistic attitude toward society. Joe is sullen, not too talkative. He is sure of only one thing—he doesn't want to be rejected by the program and sent to Ogden, the state industrial school, where he would be kept inside the walls.

Professor Empey usually says little at these meetings. Occasionally he subtly guides the discussion to keep it on the subject, but normally he is content to let the youths carry the ball.

In this case, the group is generally critical of Joe's behavior since he entered the Pinehills program. As one of them puts it: "He should drop his tough-guy role." The group thinks that Joe has a chip on his shoulder, that he is overaggressive because he has to prove something. Several point out that he is unfriendly—they have tried to talk to him while on a work project and he hasn't given them a civil answer. They say Joe "messes around," and does nothing to help later arrivals at Pinehills.

Joe is puzzled. He admits he is a "tough guy." Other boys were tough with him, so he naturally had to defend himself. Gradually, in self-defense as he sees it, he built his reputation, and the boys he has beaten in a fair fight now show him respect. What happens if he gives up being a "tough guy"? To Joe, the answer is obvious: He will lose the respect of the boys he has beaten and will have to fight them all over again.

Joe is in a dilemma as the meeting ends: Change his ways or be sent to Ogden—either seems a distasteful prospect. But the session has at least pinpointed Joe's problem, and it is now out in the open. The chances are good that it will eventually be solved, for studies show that delinquents discharged from the Pinehills program return to their old habits less often than those discharged from conventional reform institutions.

Delinquents at Pinehills are from fifteen to seventeen years of age, and are all repeated offenders. Their crimes include vandalism, shoplifting, car theft, and burglary. Up to twenty boys are assigned to the program at one time; when one leaves, another is assigned to the group. The length of stay is usually from five to eight months. In addition to taking part in discussion sessions, some boys work and others attend school.

From the start, each delinquent is forced to turn to the other boys for guidance since the adult staff members deliberately offer little help. The boy is surprised to find that his fellows demand complete honesty; if he is not honest, the other youths interpret it as a lack of faith in their discretion. Before they will help him solve his problems, they require him to disclose his entire delinquent history. This usually means telling much more than is known to police and court.

Furthermore, the boy sees that he must either make a sincere effort to change or be sent to a reformatory. Like Joe, he becomes worried. He

has access to no adult counseling, only to the group. He becomes confused and hostile. The program staff considers this a *good* sign. The boy is *not* in command of the situation, and is therefore amenable to change. In terms of the theory described above, the boy is unsure that the delinquent system can furnish what he really wants. He is being forced into a comparison of the delinquent and conventional systems.

The group discussion permits the boy to vent his feelings of anger and hostility and gives the group a chance to analyze his behavior. Eventually, the meetings enable the group to decide whether his attitude is changed sufficiently to warrant his release.

After release, the boy continues to meet with members of his group, who help him solve new problems and serve as a check on his behavior. Efforts are made to keep him in school and teach him a trade. If he leaves school, a citizens' advisory council tries to find the boy a job.

The Pinehills experiment is being evaluated by continuous research, interviews, and questionnaires. The progress of delinquents who have been through the Pinehills program is being compared with that of two control groups—one on probation, the other in a reformatory—selected at random by Judge Monroe J. Paxman of Utah County Juvenile Court.

The results so far indicate that the program is not only cheaper but more effective than the reformatory system as a method of rehabilitation.

Another path toward improved youth-correction practices lies in better training of personnel. Correction workers must be provided with new insights into the psychology of youth as they are developed, and with new methods of helping juveniles to live at peace with society.

Police officers attend lecture at University of Louisville Southern Police Institute, a leader in training of police in understanding, prevention, and treatment of delinquency. Courses stress human relations and youth services.

ing—or selling, if you want to call it that—lawmakers and taxpayers on programs of reform and improvement."

Members of C.A.P. committees are selected with extreme care on the basis of their ability, influence, and willingness to work on crime and delinquency prevention and treatment. They are recruited from lawyers, doctors, religious leaders, journalists, educators, and leaders in industry. Probation and parole officers, judges, welfare-council staff, correction officials, businessmen, and others are asked to submit nominations.

The committees start by studying, with the aid of National Council staff members, facilities in their states for dealing with juvenile offenders. Next they confer with judges, lawyers, and correctional authorities from state and national organizations to formulate improvement plans. "The decisions on objectives and priorities are made by the committee members," says Hugh P. Reed, assistant director of the National Council. "The staff professionals take an advisory role—they are on *tap*, never on *top*."

Citizens' groups have helped to establish probation and parole systems where none existed before, and to improve staff and services of existing systems. They have supported legislation to improve conditions in institutions and personnel standards in the correction field. Throughout their work, the C.A.P. committees have concentrated on getting their message over to the general public, for, says Reed,"the public must know more about modern correctional methods before legislation can be passed or improvements made." Here is a glimpse of the Citizen Action Program at work in one state:

In Indiana, the C.A.P. committee became worried about the overcrowding of institutions due to inadequate probation services. Following

a county-by-county study of court services, the committee met with judges, lawyers, state correction officials, and the governor's youth council. With them it set priorities for developing a better probation system, establishing a statistical and research division in the State Department of Correction, and starting an information program to encourage greater use of community and probation services.

As a result of the Council's study, a state director was appointed to stimulate the development of local probation services, and a number of courts have asked him to certify additions to their probation staffs. Through better probation services, admissions to state institutions were cut by 1,200 per year, thus reducing overcrowding, avoiding the cost of new institutions, and—most important—giving delinquent youths and other convicted persons a better chance of rehabilitation.

To bring these up-to-date tools into the schools of social work, the Foundation granted $149,000 to the Council on Social Work Education, the main standard-setting agency in the field. The Council's program seeks to guide schools of social work in providing training in correctional practices and in developing reading matter and other teaching materials.

The program began with visits to schools of social work across the country by an educational consultant, Edmund G. Burbank, formerly chief probation officer of the Criminal Court of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. Deans and faculty explored with Burbank methods to improve their curricula, and sought ways of placing more of their graduates in positions in correctional institutions and agencies that provide probation and parole services.

The Council is working with the National Council on Crime and Delinquency to establish a national institute of correctional training. It is assisting in the recruitment of qualified people for positions as correction workers and as teachers in schools of social work. It also acts as a national clearinghouse of information, experience, and ideas on training in a field that has been organized historically on a local basis with a variety of theories and methods.

Elsewhere in the training field, the Foundation granted $200,000 to the University of Louisville's Southern Police Institute, a leader in the training of police from throughout the United States. The Institute, which gives two twelve-week college-credit courses each year, covers a wide range of subjects, but emphasizes human relations and the understanding, prevention, and treatment of delinquency.

Citizens in Action

As a businessman, Hull Youngblood, of San Antonio, Texas, president of the Southern Steel Company, devises better methods of keeping prisoners behind bars. He has spent forty years designing, manufacturing, and maintaining prison equipment.

As a citizen, Youngblood is more interested in preventing crime and improving correctional methods. He is a member of the Texas Committee of the Citizen Action Program (C.A.P.), set up to spur the fight against juvenile crime.

The program's parent organization, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, is a voluntary standard-setting and field-service agency. Through the C.A.P., which was established in 1955 with the aid of a Ford Foundation grant, the Council organizes and coordinates state committees of prominent laymen to rally public support and influence officials towards better prevention, treatment, and control of delinquency and crime. Committees are now at work in fifteen states*, two more will soon have committees**, and others are expected to join the program later.

Determined, informed citizens have a role and a responsibility in improving correctional services and facilities in their states, Youngblood believes. "When you've visited as many jails as I have and watched the age level of these prisoners drop year after year," he says, "you realize that the fight for better prevention and control of crime and delinquency is too urgent to be waged only by officials and researchers. Citizen action is essential in tackling delinquency on a state-wide basis and in inform-

*California, Georgia, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Washington, West Virginia.
**Illinois, Pennsylvania.

Santa Monica civic leaders meet with mayor in his office. Cooperation among private and public agencies plays vital part in action and research programs assisted by Foundation. In new comprehensive approach, cities receive grants for coordinated, all-out attacks on problems—including delinquency—on community-wide basis.

The Broader Setting

In the foregoing account, several approaches toward youth development and the solution of the delinquency problem have been suggested—better education, job opportunities, work projects, and increased family, school, and community interest. Several years' experience in supporting studies and demonstrations of these approaches has pointed the way to a new Foundation policy of tackling delinquency through coordinated, community-wide attacks on all the human problems of "gray" urban areas.

"This new comprehensive approach," says Henry T. Heald, president of the Foundation, "is essential in view of the multitude of agencies that have a hand—and a responsibility—in improving conditions for people in depressed neighborhoods. Overlapping services, agency rivalry, inadequate communication, and inattention to key social needs are luxuries that no modern city can afford. Communities wishing to make the most of Federal, state, and other funds now available must join together in spelling out priorities, assigning tasks, and developing new methods.

"The Foundation's new program seeks to help selected American cities attack the human problems of their slums through the coordination of local-government agencies and private organizations. The first grants in the program were made in Oakland, California, and New Haven, Connecticut.

"In this broader setting, the Foundation hopes to continue its assistance to the nation's youth, regarding their problems as part of the problems of the underprivileged of all ages."

The following publications are available without charge on request from the Ford Foundation, Office of Reports, 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

THE FORD FOUNDATION ANNUAL REPORT

ABOUT THE FORD FOUNDATION: General program activities.

THE APPRENTICE EXPERTS: An account of fellowship programs.

ARCHITECTS OF ORDER: An account of the International Legal Studies program.

ETV: A FORD FOUNDATION PICTORIAL REPORT: The development of educational television for teaching and for general audiences.

THE FORD FOUNDATION PROGRAM IN HUMANITIES AND THE ARTS: Objectives, methods, and initial grants.

METROPOLIS: Activities of the Urban and Regional program.

THE PAY OF PROFESSORS: Report on grants for college teachers' salaries.

ROOTS OF CHANGE: The Ford Foundation program in India.

TEACHING BY TELEVISION: Experiments in instructional television.

TIME, TALENT, AND TEACHERS: Experiments in better utilization of school and college teachers.

THE WEALTH OF A NATION: A cross-section of activities in the Foundation's program in Economic Development and Administration.

STATE AND REGIONAL BOOKLETS: Summaries and listings of grants in each state. (Out of print: Arkansas, Hawaii, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.)

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